Cognita Nasoni mea si quoque vita fuisset,
Neptuni verè sobolem narrasset, et alis
Expansis Mundum circumuolitasse per vndas,
Flammiuom in mira metamorphosi vsque Draconem
Conuersum fueram semper sic faucibus ipse,
Vnguibus atque alis, caudaq; armatus in hostem.

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Vnguibus atque alis, caudaq; armatus in hostem.

A SVMMARIE AND TRVE DISCOVRSE OF SIR FRANCES DRAKES VVest Indian Voyage.

Wherein were taken, the Townes of *Saint Iago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena & Saint Auguſtine.*

Imprinted at London by Richard Field, dwelling in the Blacke-Friars by Ludgate.
1589.

PHOT of HEH 18731

The Reader muſt vnderſtand, that this Diſcourſe was dedicated, and intended to haue bene imprinted ſomewhat before the comming of the Spaniſh Fleete vpon our coaſt of England: but by caſualtie the ſame was forgotten and ſlacked for a time of ſome better leaſure.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE ROBERT D'EVREVX, EARLE OF ESSEX AND EWE, VISCOVNT of Hereford and Bourchier, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bourchier and Louaine, Maiſter of the Queens Maieſties horſe, and knight of the moſt honorable order of the Garter, T. C. wiſheth increaſe of all honour and happineſſe.

RIght Honorable, hauing by chaunce recouered of late into my handes (after I had once loſt the ſame) a copie of the Diſcourſe of our late VVeſt Indian voyage, vvhich vvas begun by Captaine Bigges, vvho ended his life in the ſaid voyage after our departure from Cartagena, the ſame being aftervvardes finiſhed (as I thinke) by his Lieutenant Maiſter Croſtes, or ſome other, I knovve not vvell vvho. Novve finding therein a moſt true report of the ſeruices and other matters vvhich happened in the ſayd voyage, the ſight vvhereof is vvonderfully deſired by manie honeſt and vvell diſpoſed perſons. I haue preſumed to recommend the publiſhing thereof, vnto your Lordſhips protection and fauour, for theſe tvvo cauſes. The one, for that your Lordſhips Honourable diſpoſition is in the knovvledge of all men that knovv your ſelfe, moſt thirſtingly affected to embrace in your ovvne perſon,

the braueſt enterpriſes, if the time vvould once affoord anie ſuch fit occaſion, as might be agreeable to her Maieſties reſolution: vvho vviſely (and long may ſhe do it) gouerneth all things to the greateſt aduantage of her ſelfe and people. The other, becauſe my ſelfe hauing beene a member in the ſayd actions, and vnder Lieutenant of Maiſter Carleils ovvne companie, vvhereby I can vvell aſſure the truth of this report: I thought it my bounden dutie, hauing profeſſed my ſeruice to your Lordſhip before all men, to dedicate the ſame rather vnto your Lordſhip then to anie other. And although it be novve a yeare and a halfe ſithence the voyage ended, vvhereby ſome man vvill ſay, that it is novve no nevve matter: yet the preſent time conſidered, hovv doubtfull ſome of our meaner ſort of people are of the Spaniſh preparations, I thinke this Diſcourſe a very fit thing to be published, that they may ſee vvhat great victories a fevve English men haue made vpon great numbers of the Spaniardes, euen at home in their ovvne countreyes. The beholding vvhereof vvill much encourage thoſe, vvho by fame and bare vvordes are made to doubt much more then there is cauſe vvhy they ſhould. Vpon vvhich point, as there may be much ſayd: ſo my ſelfe being no Diſcourſer, do deſire to be held excuſed therein: and therefore doe onely commend the trueth of this report vnto your Lordſhip: vvhich vvill be alſo auovved by diuers Captaines that vvere in the ſayd voyage. And ſo in all humbleneſſe do take my leaue, readie to do your Lordſhip all faithfull ſeruice.

Your Lordſhips ſouldier
and humble ſeruant.

THOMAS CATES.

A SVMMARIE AND TRVE DISCOVRSE OF SIR FRAVNCES DRAKES WEST INDIAN VOYAGE,

vvherein vvere taken the tovvnes of Saincte Iago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena and Saincte Auguſtine.

THis worthie knight for the ſeruice of his Prince and countrie, hauing prepared his whole fleete, and gotten them downe to Plimouth in Deuonſhire, to the nũber of fiue & twenty ſaile of ſhips & pinnaces, & hauing aſſembled of ſouldiers and mariners to the number of two thouſand and three hundred in the whole, embarqued them and him ſelfe at Plimouth aforeſayd the twelfth day of September 1585. being accompanied with theſe men of name and charge, which hereafter followe.

Maiſter Chriſtopher Carleill Lieutenant Generall, a man of long experience in the warre as well by ſea as land, & had formerly carried high offices

in both kindes in many fights, which he diſcharged alwaies verie happily, and with great good reputation.

Anthonie Powell Sergeant Maior.

Captaine Matthew Morgan, and Captaine Iohn Sampſon Corporals of the field.

Theſe principall officers had commandement ouer the reſt of the lande Captaines, whoſe names hereafter follow.

Captaine Anthonie Plat.
Captaine Iohn Merchant.
Captaine Edward VVinter.
Captaine Iohn Goring.
Captaine Robert Pew.
Captaine George Barton.
Captaine VVilliam Cecill.
Captaine VValter Bigs.
Captaine Iohn Hannam.
Captaine Richard Stanton.

Captaine Martine Frobuſher Vizeadmirall, a man of great experience in ſea faring action, and had carried chiefe charge of many ſhips himſelfe, in ſundry voyages before, being nowe ſhipped in the Primeroſe.

Captaine Francis Knolles, Rieradmirall in the Gallion Leiceſter.

Maiſter Thomas Venner Captaine in the Elizabeth Bonad-

Bonaduenture vnder the Generall.
Maiſter Edward VVinter Captaine in the Aide.
Maiſter Chriſtopher Carleill the Lieutenant generall, Captaine in the Tigar.
Henrie VVhite Captaine of the ſea Dragon.
Thomas Drake Captaine of the Thomas.
Thomas Seelie Captaine of the Minion.
Bailie Captaine of the Barke Talbot.
Robert Croſſe Captaine of the Barke Bond.
George Forteſcute Captaine of the Barke Bonner.
Edward Careleſſe Captaine of the Hope.
Iames Erizo Captaine of the white Lion.
Thomas Moone Captaine of the Francis.
Iohn Riuers Captaine of the Vantage.
Iohn Vaughan Captaine of the Drake.
Iohn Varney Captaine of the George.
Iohn Martin Captaine of the Beniamin.
Edward Gilman Captaine of the Skout.
Richard Hawkins Captaine of the Galliot called the Ducke.
Bitfield Captaine of the Swallow.

After our going hence, which was the fourteenth of September, in the yeare of our Lord, one thowſand fiue hundred eighty and fiue: and taking our courſe towards Spaine, we had the winde for a few daies ſomewhat skant, and ſometimes calme. And being ariued neere that part of the coaſt of Spaine,

which is called the Mores, we happened to eſpie diuerſe ſailes, which kept their courſe cloſe by the ſhore, the weather being faire and calme. The Generall cauſed the Vizeadmirall to goe with the Pinnaces well manned to ſee what they were, who vpon ſight of the ſaid pinnaces approching nere vnto them, abandonned for the moſt parte all their ſhippes (being Frenchmen) laden all with ſalt, and bounde homewardes into France, amongſt which ſhips (being all but of ſmall burden) there was one ſo well liked, which alſo had no man in her, as being brought vnto the Generall, he thought good to make ſtay of her for the ſeruice, meaning to pay for her, as was accordingly performed at our returne, which barke was called the Drake. The reſt of theſe ſhips being eight or nine, were diſmiſſed without any thing at all taken from them. VVe being afterwards put ſomewhat further off from the ſhore, by the contrarietie of winde, we happened to meete with ſome other French ſhips, full laden with Newland fiſh, being vpon their returne homeward from the ſaid New found land: whom the Generall after ſome ſpeech had with them, and ſeeing plainly that they were Frenchmen, diſmiſſed without once ſuffering any man to go aboord of them.

The day following ſtanding in with the ſhore againe, we diſcried an other tall ſhip of twelue ſcore tunnes

tunnes or thereabouts, vpon whom Maiſter Carleill the Lieutenant generall being in the Tiger, vndertooke the chaſe, whom alſo anone after the Admirall followed, and the Tiger hauing cauſed the ſaid ſtrange ſhip to ſtrike her ſailes, kept her there without ſuffering any bodie to go aboord vntill the Admirall was come vp: who foorthwith ſending for the Maiſter, and diuerſe others of their principall men, and cauſing them to be ſeuerally examined, founde the ſhip and goodes to be belonging to the inhabitants of S. SEBASTIAN in Spaine, but the marriners to be for the moſt parte belonging to S. Iohn de LVCE & the paſſage. In this ſhip was great ſtore of drie Newland fiſh, commonly called with vs Poore Iohn, wherof afterwards being thus found a lawfull prize, there was diſtribution made into all the ſhips of the Fleete, the ſame being ſo newe and good, as it did very greatly beſtead vs in the whole courſe of our voyage. A day or two after the taking of this ſhip, we put in with the Iſles of BAYON, for lacke of fauourable wind, where we had no ſooner anckered ſome part of the Fleete, but the Generall commaunded all the Pinnaces with the ſhip boates to be manned, and euerie man to be furniſhed with ſuch armes as was needefull for that preſent ſeruice, which being done, the Generall put him ſelfe into his Galley, which was alſo well furniſhed, and row-

ing towards the Citie of BAYON, with intent, & the fauour of the Almighty to ſurpriſe it. Before we had aduaunced one halfe league of our way, there came a meſſenger being an Engliſh Marchant from the Gouernour, to ſee what ſtraunge Fleete we were, who came to our Generall, and conferred a while with him, and after a ſmall time ſpent, our Generall called for Captaine Sampſon, and willed him to go to the Gouernour of the Citie, to reſolue him of two pointes. The firſt, to knowe if there were any warres betweene Spaine and England. The ſecond why our Marchants with their goods were imbarred or arreſted. Thus departed Captaine Sampſon with the ſaid meſſenger to the citie, where he found the Gouernour and people much amazed of ſuch a ſudden accident.

The Generall with the aduiſe and counſell of Maiſter Carleill his Lieutenant generall, who was in the galley with him, thought not good to make any ſtand, till ſuch time as they were within ſhot of the Citie, where they might be readie vpon the returne of Captaine Sampſon, to make a ſudden attempt if cauſe did require before it was darke.

Captaine Sampſon returned with his meſſage in this ſort. Firſt, touching peace or warres, the Gouernour ſayd he knew of no warres, and that it lay not in him to make any, he being ſo meane a ſubiect

iect as he was. And as for the ſtay of the Marchants with their goods, it was the kings pleaſure, but not with intent to endommage any man. And that the kings conter commandement was (which had bene receaued in that place ſome ſeauennight before) that Engliſh Marchants with their goods ſhould be diſcharged: for the more verifying whereof, he ſent ſuch Marchants as were in the towne of our Nation, who traffiqued thoſe parts: which being at large declared to our Generall by them, counſell was taken what might beſt be done. And for that the night approched, it was thought needefull to land our force, which was done in the ſhutting vp of the day, & hauing quartered our ſelues to our moſt aduantage, with ſufficient gard vpon euery ſtraight, we thought to reſt our ſelues for that night there. The Gouernour ſent vs ſome refreſhing, as bread, wine, oyle, apples, grapes, marmalad and ſuch like. About midnight the weather beginnes to ouercaſt, inſomuch that it was thought meeter to repaire aboord, then to make any longer abode on land, and before we could recouer the Fleete, a great tempeſt aroſe, which cauſed many of our ſhips to driue from their ancker hold, and ſome were forced to ſea in great perill, as the barke Talbot, the barke Hawkins and the Speedewell, which Speedewell onely was driuen into England, the others recouered vs a-

gain, the extremity of the ſtorme laſted three daies, which no ſooner beganne to aſſwage, but Maiſter Carleill our Lieutenant generall, was ſent with his owne ſhip and three others: as alſo with the galley and with diuers Pinnaces, to ſee what he might do aboue VIGO, where he toke many boats and ſome Caruels, diuerſly laden with things of ſmall value, but chiefly with houſhold ſtuffe, running into the high countrey, and amongſt the reſt, he found one boate laden with the principall Church ſtuffe of the high Church of VIGO, where alſo was their great Croſſe of ſiluer, of very faire emboſſed worke, and double gilt all ouer, hauing coſt them a great maſſe of money. They complained to haue loſt in all kind of goods aboue thirtie thowſand Duckets in this place.

The next day the General with his whole Fleete went vp frō the Iles of BAYON, to a very good harbour aboue VIGO, where Maiſter Carleill ſtayd his comming, aſwell for the more quiet riding of his ſhips, as alſo for the good commoditie of freſh watering, which the place there did afoord full well. In the meane time the Gouernour of GALLISIA had reared ſuch forces as he might, his numbers by eſtimate were ſome two thowſand foot, and three hundred horſe, & marched from BAYON to this part of the countrey, which lay in ſight of our Fleete, where making

making ſtand, he ſent to parle with our Generall, which was graunted by our Generall, ſo it might be in boates vpon the water: and for ſafetie of their perſons, there were pledges deliuered on both ſides, which done, the Gouernor of GALLISIA put him ſelfe with two others into our Vize-Admirals Skiffe, the ſame hauing bene ſent to the ſhore for him: And in like ſort our General in his own Skiffe, where by them it was agreed, we ſhould furniſh our ſelues with freſh water, to be taken by our own people quietly on the land, and haue all other ſuch neceſſaries, paying for the ſame, as the place would affoorde.

VVhen all our buſineſſe was ended, we departed, & toke our way by the Iſlands of CANARIA, which are eſteemed ſome three hundred leagues from this part of Spain, & falling purpoſely with PALMA, with intention to haue taken our pleaſure of that place, for the full digeſting of many things into order, and the better furniſhing our ſtore with ſuch ſeuerall good things as that affoordeth very abundantly, we were forced by the vile ſea gate, which at that preſent fell out, and by the naughtineſſe of the landing place, being but one, and that vnder the fauor of many Platformes, well furniſhed with great ordinance, to depart with the receipt of many their Canon ſhot, ſome into our ſhips, and ſome beſides,

some of them being in very deede full Canon high. But the onely or chiefe mischiefe, was the daungerous sea surge, which at shore all alongest, plainly threatned the ouerthrow of as many Pinnaces and boates, as for that time should haue attempted any landing at all.

Now seeing the expectation of this attempt frustrated by the causes aforesaid, we thought it meeter to fal with the Isle FERRO, to see if we could find any better fortune, and comming to the Island, we landed a thousand men in a valley vnder a high mountaine, where we stayed some two or three houres, in which time the inhabitants, accompanied with a yong fellow borne in England, who dwelt there with them, came vnto vs, shewing their state to be so poore, that they were all readie to starue, which was not vntrue: and therefore without any thing gotten, we were all commaunded presently to imbarke, so as that night we put off to sea South Southeast along towards the coast of Barbarie.

Vpon Saterday in the morning, being the thirteenth of Nouember, we fell with Cape Blancke, which is a low land & shallow water, where we catched store of fish, & doubling the Cape, we put into the Bay, where we found certain Frēch ships of war, whom we entertained with great curtesie, and there left them. The after noone the whole Fleete assembled,

Ciuitas S. IACOBI eo nomine quo Insula Vocatur, et commercium habet cu

La Ville de Sainct Jacques dicte du nom de lisle trafique auec la ville de guinee et les

cum Guynea et adiuctis regionibus Africæ, vnde merces in Lusitaniam deuehunt.

les pais voisins de la Affrique dou lon transporte les marchandises en lombardie.

bled, which was a litle ſcattered about their fiſhing, & put frō thence to the Iſles of Cape Verde, ſayling till the ſixteenth of the ſame moneth in the morning, on which day we deſcried the Iſland of S. IAGO, and in the euening we anckered the Fleet betwene the towne called the PLAY or PRAY and S. IAGO, where we put on ſhore a thouſand men or more, vnder the leading of Maiſter Chriſtopher Carleill Lieutenant Generall, who directed the ſeruice moſt like a wiſe commaunder. The place where we had firſt to march did affoord no good order, for the ground was mountaines and full of dales, being a maruellous ſtonie & troubleſome paſſage, but ſuch was his induſtrious diſpoſition, as he would neuer leaue, vntil we had gotten vp to a faire plaine, where we made ſtand for the aſſembling of the Army. And when we were all gathered together vpō the plaine, ſome two litle miles from the towne, the Lieutenant generall thought good not to make attempt till day light: becauſe there was not one that could ſerue for guide or giuing knowledge at all of the place. And therefore after hauing well reſted, euen halfe an houre before day, he commanded the Armie to be deuided into three ſpeciall parts, ſuch as he appointed, whereas before we had marched by ſeuerall companies, being thereunto forced by the naughtineſſe of the way as is aforeſayd.

Now by the time we were thus raunged into a very braue order day light began to appeare, and being aduaunced hard to the wall, we ſawe no enemie to reſiſt, whereupon the Leiutenant generall appointed Captaine Sampſon with thirtie ſhot, & Captaine Barton with other thirtie, to goe downe into the towne which ſtood in the valey vnder vs, and might verie plainely be veiwed all ouer from that place where the whole Army was now arriued & preſently after theſe Captaines was ſent the great Enſigne, which had nothing in it but the plaine Engliſh Croſſe, to be placed towardes the ſea, that our fleet might ſee Saint Georges Croſſe floriſh in the enemies fortreſſe. Order was giuen that all the ordinance througout the towne and vpon all the platformes, which was aboue fifty peeces all ready charged, ſhould be ſhot of in honor of the Queenes Maieſties coronation day, being the ſeuententh of Nouember, after the yearly cuſtome of England, which was ſo anſwered againe by the ordinance out of all the ſhips in the fleete which now was come neere, as it was ſtraunge to heare ſuch a thondering noiſe laſt ſo long to gether. In this meane while the Leiutenaunt generall held ſtill the moſt part of his force on the hill top, till ſuch time as the towne was quartered out for the lodging of the whole armie, which being done euerie Captaine toke his owne

quarter

quarter, and in the euening was placed ſuch ſufficient gard vpon euerie part of the towne that we had no cauſe to feare any preſent enemie.

Thus we continued in the citie the ſpace of fourteene daies, taking ſuch ſpoiles as the place yelded, which were for the moſt part, wine, oile, meale, and ſome other ſuch like things for victuall, as vineger, oliues & ſome other traſh, as marchandiſe for their Indian trades. But there was not found any treaſure at all, or any thing elſe of worth beſides.

The ſcituation of Saint IAGO is ſomwhat ſtrange in forme like to a triangle, hauing on the Eaſt and VVeſt ſides two mountaines of Rocke and cliffie, as it were hanging ouer it, vpon the top of which two mountains was builded certaine fortifications to preſerue the towne from any harme that might be offered. From thence on the South ſide of the towne is the maine ſea, and on the North ſide, the valley lying betweene the foreſayd mountaines, wherein the towne ſtandeth: the ſaide valley and towne both do grow very narrow, inſomuch that the ſpace betweene the two cliffes of this ende of the towne is eſtimated not to be aboue tenne or twelue ſcore ouer.

In the middeſt of the valley cometh downe a riueret, rill, or brooke of freſh water, which hard by the ſea ſide maketh a pond or poole, whereout our

ſhips were watered with very great eaſe and pleaſure. Somewhat aboue the towne on the North ſide betweene the two mountaines, the valley wageth ſomewhat larger then at the townes end, which valley is wholie conuerted into gardens and orchards well repleniſhed with diuers ſorts of fruicts, herbes & trees, as lymmons, orenges, ſuger canes, cochars or cochos nuts, plantens, potato roots, cocombers, ſmall and round onions, garlicke, and ſome other things not now remembred, amongſt which the cochos nuts and plantens are very pleaſant fruicts, the ſayd cochos hauing a hard ſhell and a greene huske ouer it, as hath our walnut, but it farre exceedeth in greatneſſe, for this cochos in this greene huske is bigger then any mans two fiſtes, of the hard ſhell many drinking cups are made here in England, and ſet in ſiluer as I haue often ſeene.

Next within this hard ſhell is a white rine reſembling in ſhew very much euen as any thing may do, to the white of an egge when it is hard boyled. And within this white of the nut lyeth a water, which is whitiſh and very cleere, to the quantitie of halfe a pint or thereabouts, which water and white rine before ſpoken of, are both of a very coole freſh taſte, and as pleaſing as any thing may be. I haue heard ſome hold opinion, that it is very reſtoratiue.

The Planten groweth in cods, ſomewhat like to beanes,

beanes, but is bigger and longer, and much more thicke together on the ſtalke, and when it waxeth ripe, the meate which filleth the rine of the cod becommeth yellow, and is exceeding ſweet and pleaſant.

In this time of our being there, hapned to come a Portingall to the VVeſtermoſt fort, with a flag of truce, to whom Captaine Sampſon was ſent with Captaine Goring, who comming to the ſayd Meſſenger, he firſt asked them what nation they were, they aunſwered Engliſhmen, he then required to know if warres were betweene England & Spaine, to which they anſwered that they knew not, but if he would go to their Generall he could beſt reſolue him of ſuch particulars, and for his aſſurance of paſſage and repaſſage, theſe Captaines made offer to ingage their credits, which he refuſed for that he was not ſent from his Gouernor. Then they tolde him, if his Gouernor did deſire to take a courſe for the common benefit of the people and contrie, his beſt way were to come & preſent himſelfe vnto our Noble and merciful Gouernor Sir Frances Drake: whereby he might be aſſured to finde fauour, both for him ſelfe and the inhabitants. Otherwiſe within three daies we ſhould march ouer the land, and conſume with fire all inhabited places, and put to the ſworde all ſuch liuing ſoules as we ſhould chaunce

vpon: so thus much he tooke for the conclusion of his answer, and departing, he promised to returne the next day, but we neuer heard more of him.

Vpon the foure and twentieth of Nouember, the Generall accompanied with the Lieutenant generall and six hundred men, marched foorth to a village twelue miles within the lande, called S. DOMINGO, where the Gouernor and the Bishop with all the better sort were lodged, and by eight of the clocke we came to it, finding the place abandoned, & the people fled into the mountaines: so we made stande a while to ease our selues, and partly to see if any would come to speake to vs. After we had well rested our selues, the Generall commaunded the troupes to march away homewardes, in which retreat the enemy shewed them selues, both horse & foote, though not such force as durst encounter vs: and so in passing some time at the gase with them, it waxed late and towards night, before we could recouer home to S. IAGO.

On Munday the six & twentieth of Nouember, the Generall commanded all the Pinnaces with the boates, to vse all diligence to imbarke the Armie into such ships as euery man belonged. The Lieutenant generall in like sort commaunded Captaine Goring and Lieutenant Tucker, with one hundred shot to make a stand in the market place, vntill our forces

Map between pages 16-17

Ciuitas S. DOMINICI ſita in Hiſpaniola Indica Angliæ magnitudine fer

La Citté de Sainct Dominique aſiſſe en la petite Hiſpaigne Indienne aegalle preſque
elle. Commande a toutes les Contrées Voiſines.

ere æqualis, ipsa vrbs eleganter ab Hispanis extructa, et omnib? circum vicinis Insulis jura dat.

e en grandeur a l'Angleterre. ceste ville a este superbement bastie par les espagnols.

forces were wholly imbarked, the Vice admirall making stay with his Pinnace and certaine boates in the harbour, to bring the sayd last company aboord the ships. Also the Generall willed foorthwith the Gallie with two Pinnaces to take into the the company of Captaine Burton, and the company of Captaine Bigs, vnder the leading of Captaine Sampson, to seeke out such munition as was hidden in the ground, at the towne of PRAY or PLAY, having beene promised to be shewed it by a prisoner, which was taken the day before. The Captaines aforesaid comming to the PLAY, landed their men, and hauing placed their troupes in their best strength, Captaine Sampson tooke the prisoner, and willed him to shewe that he had promised, the which he could not, or at least would not: but they searching all suspected places, found two pieces of ordinance one of yron, another of brasse. In the after noone the Generall anckered the rest of the Fleete before the PLAY, comming himselfe ashore, willing vs to burne the towne and take all haste aboorde, the which was done by sixe of the clocke the same day, and our selues imbarked againe the same night, and so we put off to sea Southwest.

But before our departure from the towne of S. IAGO, we established orders for the better gouernement of the armie, euery man ministred to his Cap-

thing, and duties inioined to acknowledge her Maiesties supreame Gouernour, as also euery man to do his vttermost endeuour to aduaunce the seruice of the action, and to yeeld due obedience vnto the directions of the Generall and his officers. By this prouident counsell, with laying downe this good foundation before hand, all things went forward in a due course, to the atchiuing of our happie enterprise.

In all the time of our being here, neither the Gouernor for the king of Spaine, which is a Portingall, neither the Bishop, whose authoritie is great, neither any of the inhabitants of the towne or Iland euer came at vs (which we expected they should haue done) to intreate vs to leaue them some part of their needefull prouisions, or at the least, to spare the ruining of their towne at the going away. The cause of this their vnreasonable distrust (as I do take it) was the fresh remembrance of the great wrongs they had done to olde Maister William Hawkins of Plimouth, in the voyage he made fower or fiue yeares before, when as they did both breake their promise, and murdered many of his men, whereof I iudge you haue vnderstood, and therefore needeless to be here repeated. But since they came not at vs, we left written in sundry places, as also in the Spittle house (which building was onely appointed

to

to be ſpared) the great diſcontentment and ſcorne we tooke at this their refraining to come vnto vs, as alſo at the rude maner of killing, and ſauage kind of handling the dead body of one of our boyes, found by them ſtragling all alone, from whom they had taken his head and his heart, and had ſtragled the other bowels about the place, in a moſt brutiſh and moſt beaſtly maner.

In reuenge whereof at our departing we conſumed with fire all the houſes, aſwell in the countrey which we ſawe, as in the towne of S. IAGO.

From hence putting ouer to the VVeſt Indies, we were not many dayes at ſea, but there beganne amongſt our people ſuch mortalitie, as in few daies there were dead aboue two or three hundred men. And vntil ſome ſeuen or eight dayes after our comming from S. IAGO, there had not died anie one man of ſickeneſſe in all the Fleete: the ſickeneſſe ſhewed not his infection wherewith ſo many were ſtroken, vntill we were departed thence, and then ſeazed our people with extreme hote burning and continuall ague, whereof ſome verie fewe eſcaped vvith life, and yet thoſe for the moſt part not vvithout great alteration and decay of their vvittes and ſtrength for a long time after. In ſome that dyed vvere plainely ſhevved the ſmall ſpottes, vvhich are often found vpon thoſe that be infected vvith the

plague, we were not aboue eight and twentie daies in paſſage betweene the ſight of Saint IAGO aforeſaid, and the Iſland of DOMINICA, being the firſt Iſland of the VVeſt Indies that we fell with: the ſame being inhabited with ſauage people, which goe all naked, their skin couloured with ſome painting of a reddiſh tawney, verie perſonable and handſome ſtrong men, who doe admit little conuerſation with the Spaniards: for as ſome of our people might vnderſtand them, they had a Spaniard or twaine priſoners with them, neither doe I thinke that there is any ſafety for any of our nation, or any other to be within the limits of their commaundement, albeit they vſed vs very kindely for thoſe fewe houres of time which we ſpent with them, helping our folkes to fill and carie on their bare ſhoulders freſh water from the riuer to our ſhips boats, and fetching from their houſes, great ſtore of Tobacco, as alſo a kinde of bread, which they fed on, called Caſſado, verie white and ſauerie, made of the rootes of Caſſania. In recompence whereof, we beſtowed liberall rewardes of glaſſe, coloured beades and other things, which we had found at Saint IAGO, wherewith (as it ſeemed) they reſted very greatly ſatisfied, and ſhewing ſome ſorowfull countenance when they perceaued that we would depart.

From hence we went to another Iſland VVeſtward

ward of it, called Saint CHRISTOPHERS Island, wherein we spent some dayes of Christmas, to refresh our sicke people, and to cleanse and aire our ships. In which Island were not any people at all that we could heare of.

In which time by the General it was aduised and resolued, with the consent of the Lieutenant generall, the Vizeadmirall, and all the rest of the Captaines, to proceede to the great Island of HISPANIOLA, as well for that we knewe our selues then to be in our best strength, as also the rather allured thereunto, by the glorious fame of the Citie of S. DOMINGO, being the auncientest and chiefe inhabited place in all that tract of country there abouts. And so proceeding in this determination, by the way we met with a small Frigot, bound for the same place, the which the Vizeadmirall tooke, and hauing duly examined the men that were in her, there was one found by whom wo were aduertised, the hauen to be a barred hauen, and the shore orlande thereof to be well fortified, hauing a Castle thereupon furnished with great store of artillerie, without the daunger whereof, was no conuenient landing place with ten English miles of the Citie, to which the sayd Pilote tooke on him to conduct vs.

All things being thus considered on, the whole forces were commaunded in the euening to im-

barke them ſelues into Pinnaces, boates, and other ſmall barkes appointed for this ſeruice. Our ſouldiers being thus imbarked, the Generall put him ſelfe into the barke Fraunces as Admirall, and all this night we lay on the ſea, bearing ſmall ſaile vntil our arriuall to the landing place, which was about the breaking of the day, and ſo we landed, being New yeares day, nine or tenne miles to the VVeſtwardes of that braue Citie of S. DOMINGO: for at that time nor yet is known to vs, any landing place, where the ſea ſurge doth not threaten to ouerſet a Pinnace or boate. Our Generall hauing ſeene vs all landed in ſafetie, returned to his Fleete, bequeathing vs to God, and the good conduct of Maiſter Carleill our Lieutenant generall, at which time, being about eight of the clocke, we began to march, and about noone time, or towards one of the clock we approched the towne, where the Gentlemen and thoſe of the better ſorte, being ſome hundred and fiftie braue horſes or rather more, began to preſent themſelues, but our ſmall ſhot played vpon them, which were ſo ſuſtained with good proportion of pikes in all partes, as they finding no part of our troope vnprepared to receaue them (for you muſt vnderſtand they viewed all round about) they were thus driuen to giue vs leaue to proceede towardes the two gates of the towne, which were the

next

next to the ſeaward. They had manned them both, and planted their ordinance for that preſent and ſudden alarum without the gates, and alſo ſome troopes of ſmall ſhot in Ambuſcado vpon the high way ſide. VVe deuided our whole force, being ſome thouſand or twelue hundred men into two partes, to enterpriſe both the gates at one inſtant, the Lieutenant generall hauing openly vowed to Captaine Powell (who led the troope that entred by the other gate) that with Gods good fauour he would not reſt vntill our meeting in the market place.

Their ordinance had no ſooner diſcharged vpon our neere approche, and made ſome execution amongeſt vs, though not much, but the Leiutenant generall beganne forthwith to aduaunce both his voice of encoragment and paſe of marching, the firſt man that was ſlaine with the ordinaunce being verie neere vnto him ſelfe, and thereupon haſted all that he might to keepe them from the reaching of the ordinaunce. And notwithſtanding their Ambuſcadoes, we marched or rather ranne ſoe roundly into them, as pell mell we entered the gates with them, and gaue them more care euerie man to ſaue himſelfe by flight, then reaſon to ſtand any longer to their broken fight, we forthwith repaired to the market place, but to be more truely vnderſtood

a plate of very faire spatious square ground before the great Church, whither also came as had beene agreed, Captaine Powell with the other troope, which place with some part next vnto it we strengthened with Barricados, & there as the most conuenient place assured our selues, the Citie being farre too spatious for so small and wearie a troope to vndertake to gard. Somwhat after midnight they who had the gard of the Castle, hearing vs busie about the gates of the said Castle, abandoned the same, some being taken prisoners, and some flying away by the helpe of boates, to the other side of the hauen, and soe into the countrey.

The next day we quartered a little more at large, but not in the halfe part of the towne, and so making substantiall trenches, and planting all the ordinaunce, that each parte was correspondent to other, we held this towne the space of one moneth.

In the which time hapned some accidents more then are well remembred for the present, but amongest other thinges it chaunced that the Generall sent on his message to the Spaniardes a negro boy with a flagge of white, signifying truce as is the Spaniards ordinarie maner to do there, when they approch to speake with vs, which boy vnhappily was first met withal, by some of those who had bene belonging as officers for the king in the Spanish galley,

galley, which with the towne was lately fallen into our hands, who without all order or reaſon, & contrary to that good vſage wherewith we had entertained their meſſengers, furiouſlie ſtroke the poore boy through the body with one of their horſemens ſtaues, with which wound the boy returned to the Generall, and after he had declared the maner of this wrongfull crueltie, died forthwith in his preſence, wherewith the Generall being greatly paſſioned, commanded the Prouoſt martiall, to cauſe a couple of Friers, then priſoners, to be caried to the ſame place where the boy was ſtroken, accompanied with ſufficient gard of our ſouldiers, and there preſently to be hanged, diſpatching at the ſame inſtant another poore priſoner, with this reaſon wherfore this execution was done, and with this meſſage further, that vntill the partie who had thus murthered the Generals meſſenger, were deliuered into our hands, to receaue condigne puniſhment, there ſhould no day paſſe, wherein there ſhould not two priſoners be hanged, vntill they were all conſumed which were in our hands.

VVhereupon the day folowing, he that had bene Captaine of the kings galley, brought the offendor to the townes ende, offring to deliuer him into our hands, but it was thought a more honourable reuenge, to make them there in our ſight, to performe

the execution them ſelues, which was done accordingly.

During our being in this towne, as formerly alſo at S. Iago there had paſſed iuſtice vpon the life of one of our owne companie for an odious matter: ſo here likewiſe was there an Iriſh man hanged, for the murthering of his Corporall.

In this time alſo paſſed many treaties betweene their commiſſioners and vs, for ranſome of their Citie, but vpon diſagreements, we ſtill ſpent the early mornings in firing the outmoſt houſes: but they being built very magnificently of ſtone, with high lofts, gaue vs no ſmall trauell to ruine them. And albeit for diuers dayes together, we ordained eche morning by day breake, vntill the heate began at nine of the clocke, that two hundred mariners did nought elſe but labour to fier and burne the ſayd houſes without our trenches, whileſt the ſouldiers in a like proportion ſtood foorth for their gard: yet did we not or could not in this time conſume ſo much as one third part of the towne. And ſo in the end, what wearied with firing, and what haſtened by ſome other reſpects, we were content to accept of fiue and twentie thouſand Duckets, of fiue ſhillings ſixe pence the peece, for the raunſome of the reſt of the towne. Amongſt other things which happened and were found at S. DOMINGO, I may not omit to

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let the world know one very notable marke and token, of the vnſatiable ambition of the Spaniſh King and his nation, which was found in the kings houſe, wherein the chiefe Gouernour of that Citie and countrey is appointed alwayes to lodge, which was this. In the comming to the hall or other roomes of this houſe, you muſt firſt aſcend vp by a faire large paire of ſtaires, at the head of which ſtaires is a handſome ſpatious place to walke in, ſomewhat like vnto a gallerie, wherein vpon one of the walles, right ouer againſt you as you enter the ſayd place, ſo as your eye cā not eſcape the ſight of it, there is deſcribed & painted in a very large Scutchion, the armes of the king of Spaine, & in the lower part of the ſaid Scutchion, there is likewiſe deſcribed a globe, containing in it the whole circuite of the ſea and the earth, whereupon is a horſe ſtanding on his hinder part within the globe, and the other fore part without the globe, lifted vp as it were to leape, with a ſcroll painted in his mouth, wherein was written theſe wordes in Latin NON SVFFICIT ORBIS: which is as much to ſay, as the world ſuffiſeth not, whereof the meaning was required to be knowne of ſome of thoſe of the better ſort, that came in commiſſion to treate vpon the ranſome of the towne, who would ſhake their heads, and turne aſide their countenance in ſome ſmiling ſort, without aunſwe-

ring any thing, as greatly aſhamed thereof. For by ſome of our companie it was told them, that if the Queene of England would reſolutely proſecute the warres againſt the king of Spaine, he ſhould be forced to lay aſide that proude and vnreaſonable reaching vaine of his, for he ſhould finde more then inough to do, to keepe that which he had alreadie, as by the preſent example of their loſt towne they might for a beginning perceaue well inough.

Now to the ſatisfying of ſome men, who maruell greatly that ſuch a famous & goodly builded Citie ſo wel inhabited of gallant people, very brauely apparelled (whereof our ſouldiers found good ſtore for their reliefe) ſhould afoord no greater riches then was found there, wherein it is to be vnderſtood that the Indian people, which were the naturals of this whole Iſland of HISPANIOLA (the ſame being neare hand as great as England) were many yeares ſince cleane conſumed by the tyrannie of the Spaniards, which was cauſe, that for lacke of people to worke in the Mines, the gold & ſiluer Mines of this Iſland are wholie giuen ouer, and thereby they are faine in this Iſland to vſe copper money, whereof was found verie great quantitie. The chiefe trade of this place conſiſteth of ſuger & ginger, which groweth in the Iſland, and of hides of oxen and kine, which in this waſt countrey of the Iſland are bred

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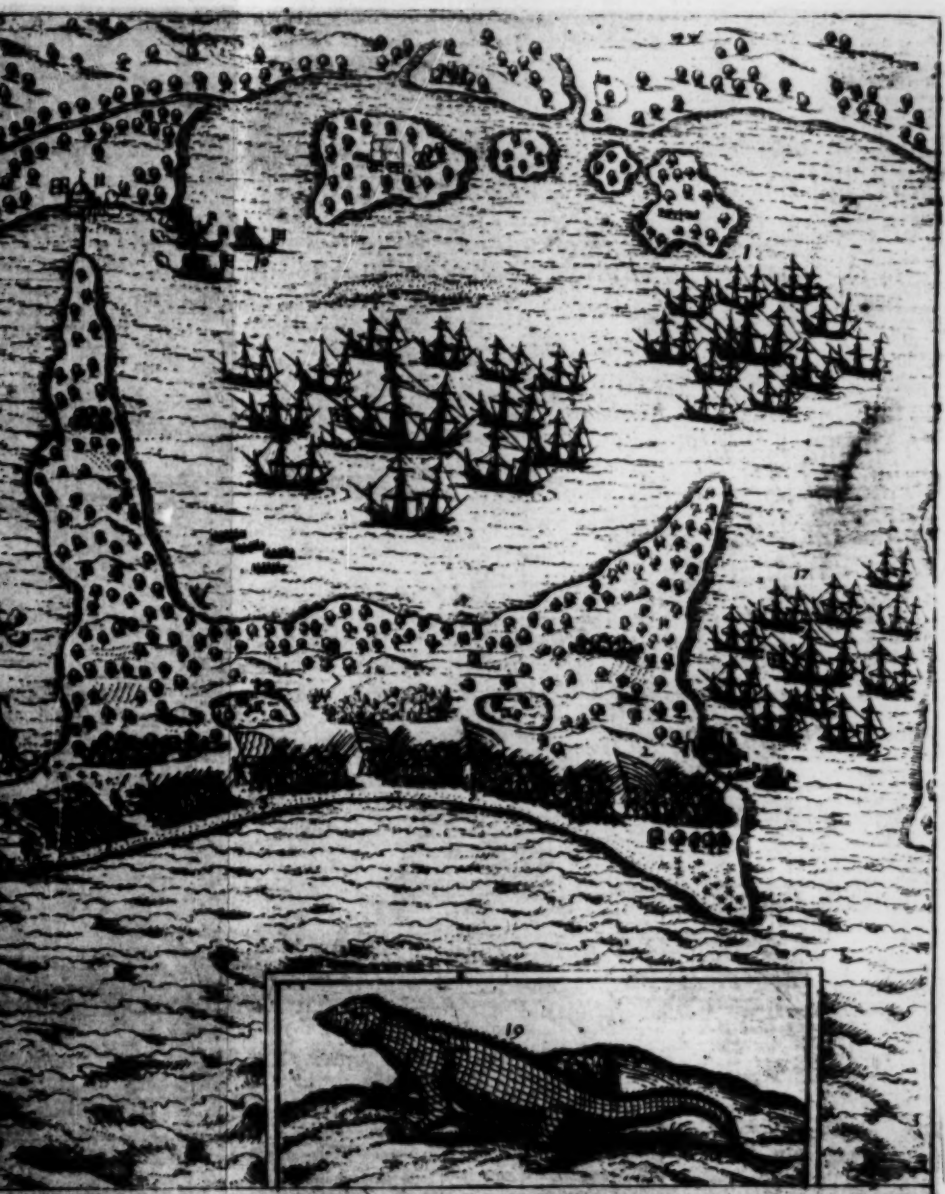
Map between pages 28 & 29

Civitas CARTAGENA, in Indiae Occidentalis continente situ, portu com

La citte de cartagennes situé en la terre ferme des Indes occidentalle a un p



modissimo, ad mercaturam inter Hispaniam et Peru excercendam.

ort fort commode pour le trafiq de l'espaigne auec le Perru.

in infinite numbers, the ſoile being very fertile: and the ſaid beaſts are fed vp to a very large growth, & ſo killed for nothing ſo much, as for their hides aforeſaid. VVe found here great ſtore of ſtrong wine, ſweete oyle, vineger, oliues and other ſuch like prouiſions, as excellent wheate meale packed vp in wine pipes and other caske, and other commodities likewiſe, as wollen and linnen cloth, and ſome ſilkes, all which prouiſions are brought out of Spain and ſerued vs for great releefe. There was but litle plate or veſſell of ſiluer, in compariſon of the great pride in other things of this towne, becauſe in theſe hote countreyes they vſe much of theſe earthen diſhes finely painted or varniſhed, which they call Parſellina, and is had out of the Eaſt India, and for their drinking, they vſe glaſſes altogether, whereof they make excellent good and faire in the ſame place. But yet ſome plate we found, and many other good things, as their houſhold garniture very gallant and rich, which had coſt them deare, although vnto vs they were of ſmall importance.

From S. Domingo we put ouer to the maine or firme land, and going all alongeſt the coaſt, we came at the laſt in ſight of Cartagena, ſtanding vpon the ſea ſide, ſo neare as ſome of our barkes in paſſing alongeſt, approched within the reach of their Culuerin ſhot, which they had planted vpon

certaine platformes. The harbour mouth lay some fiue miles to the W. eſtward of the towne, wherinto we entred about three or foure of the clocke in the after noone without any reſiſtance, or ordinance or other impeachment planted vpon the ſame. In the euening we put our ſelues on land towards the harbour mouth, vnder the leading of Maiſter Carleill our Lieutenant generall, who after he had digeſted vs to march forward about the midnight, as eaſily as foot might fall, expreſſely commanding to keepe cloſe by the ſea wash of the ſhore for our beſt and ſureſt way, whereby we were like to go through, and not to miſſe any more of the way, which once we had loſt within an hower after our firſt beginning to march, through the ſlender knowledge of him that toke vpō him to be our guide, wherby the night ſpēt on, which otherwiſe muſt haue bene done by reſting. But as we came within two miles of the town, their horſemen which were ſome hundred, met vs, and taking the Alarum, retired to their towneward againe vpon the firſt volley of our ſhot that was giuen them: for the place where we encountred being woodie and buſhie euen to the water ſide, was vnmeete for their ſeruice.

At this inſtant we might heare ſome peeces of artillerie diſcharged, with diuers ſmall ſhot towards the harbour, which gaue vs to vnderſtand, accor-

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ding to the order ſet downe in the euening before by our Generall, that the Vizeadmirall accompanied with Captaine Venner, Captaine VVhite, and Captaine Croſſe, with other ſea Captaines, and with diuers Pinnaces and boates ſhould giue ſome attempt vnto the litle fort ſtanding on the entrie of the inner hauen, neare adioyning to the towne, though to ſmall purpoſe, for that the place was ſtrong, and the entrie very narrow was chained ouer ſo as there could be nothing gotten by that attempt, more then the giuing them an Alarum on that other ſide of the hauen, being a mile or two from the place where we nowe were. In which attempt the Vizeadmirall had the rudder of his Skiffe ſtroken through with a Saker ſhot, and litle or no harme receaued elſewhere.

The troopes being nowe in their march halfe a mile behither the towne or leſſe, the ground we were on grewe to be ſtraight, and not aboue fiftie paſes ouer, hauing the maine ſea on the one ſide of it, and the harbour water or inner ſea (as you may tearme it) on the other ſide. This ſtraight was fortified cleane ouer with a ſtone wall and a ditch without it, the ſaid wall being as orderly built with flanking in euery part, as can be ſet downe. There was onely ſo much of this ſtraight vnwalled, as might ſerue for the iſſuing of the horſemen, or the paſſing

of cariage in time of neede: but this vnwalled part was not without a very good Barricado of wine buts or pipes, filled with earth, full and thick as they might ſtand on end one by other, ſome part of them ſtanding euen within the maine ſea.

This place of ſtrength was furniſhed of ſixe great peeces, demi-Culuerins and Sakers, which ſhot directly in front vpon vs as vve approched. Nowve without this wall vpon the inner ſide of the ſtraight, they had brought likewiſe two great gallies with their proweſſe to the ſhore, hauing planted in them eleuen peeces of ordinãce which did beat all croſſe the ſtraight, and flanked our comming on. In theſe two galleyes wered planted three or foure hundred ſmall ſhot, and on the land in the gard onely of this place three hundred ſhot and pikes.

They in this their full readineſſe to receaue vs, ſpared not their ſhot both great and ſmall. But our Lieutenant generall, taking the aduantage of the darke (the day light as yet not broken out) approched by the loweſt ground, according to the expreſſe direction which him ſelfe had formerly giuen, the ſame being the ſea waſh ſhore, where the water was ſomewhat fallen, ſo as moſt of all their ſhot was in vaine. Our Lieutenant generall commaunded our ſhot to forbeare ſhooting vntill we were come to the wall ſi[illegible],& ſo with pikes roundly

together

together we approched the place, where we ſoone found out the Barricadoes of pipes or buts, to be the meeteſt place for our aſſault, which notwithſtanding it was well furniſhed with pikes and ſhot, was without ſtaying attempted by vs: downe went the buts of earth, and pell mell came our ſwordes and pikes together, after our ſhot had firſt giuen their volley, euen at the enemies noſe. Our pikes were ſomewhat longer then theirs, and our bodies better armed, for very fewe of them were armed, with which aduantage our ſwordes and pikes grewe to hard for them, and they driuen to giue place. In this furious entrie, the Lieutenant generall ſlue with his owne hands, the chief enſigne bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his liues end.

VVe followed into the towne with them, and giuing them no leaſure to breath, we wanne the market place, albeit they made head, and fought a while before we got it, and ſo we being once ſeazed and aſſured of that, they were content to ſuffer vs to lodge within their towne, and them ſelues to go to their wiues, whom they had caried into other places of the countrey before our comming thither.

At euerie ſtreetes end they had raiſed very fine Barricadoes of earth workes, with trenches without them, as well made as euer we ſaw any worke done: at the entring whereof was ſome litle reſiſtance, but

ſoone ouercome, it was with few ſlaine or hurt. They had ioyned with them many Indians, whom they had placed in corners of aduantage, all bowe men, with their arrowes moſt villanouſly empoiſoned, ſo as if they did but breake the skinne, the partie ſo touched died without great maruell: ſome they ſlue of our people with their arrowes, ſome they likewiſe miſchieued to death with certaine prickes or ſmall ſtickes ſharply pointed, of a foote and a halfe long, the one end put into the ground, the other empoiſoned, ſticking faſt vp, right againſt our comming in the way, as we ſhould approch from our landing towardes the towne, whereof they had planted a wonderfull number in the ordinarie way, but our keeping the ſea walh ſhore, miſſed the greateſt part of them very happily.

To ouerpaſſe many particular matters, as the hurting of Captaine Sampſon at ſword blowes in the firſt entring, vnto whom was committed the charge of the pikes of the Vantgard by his lot and turne, as alſo of the taking of Alonſo Brauo the chiefe commander of that place by Captaine Goring, after the ſayd Captaine had firſt hurt him with his ſword, vnto which Captaine was committed the charge of the ſhot of the ſaid Vantgard.

Captaine VVinter was likewiſe by his turne of the Vantgard in this attempt, where alſo the Lieute-

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nant generall marched him ſelfe, the ſayd Captaine VVinter through a great deſire to ſerue by land, hauing now exchaunged his charge by ſea with Captaine Cecill for his band of footemen.

Captaine Powell the Sergeant maior had by his turne, the charge of the foure companies which made the battaile.

Captaine Morgan, who at S. Domingo was of the Vantgard, had nowe by turne his charge vpon the companies of the Riergard.

Euerie man aſwell of one part as of another, came ſo willingly on to the ſeruice, as the enemie was not able to endure the furie of ſuch hote aſſault. VVe ſtayed here ſixe weekes, & the ſickeneſſe with mortality before ſpoken of, ſtill continuing among vs, though not with the ſame furie as at the firſt, and ſuch as were touched with the ſaid ſickeneſſe, eſcaping death, very few or none almoſt could recouer againe their ſtrength, yea many of them were much decayed in their memorie, inſomuch that it was growen an ordinarie iudgement, vvhen one vvas heard to ſpeake fooliſhly, to ſay he had bene ſicke of the Calentour, vvhich is the Spaniſh name of their burning ague: for as I told you before, it is a verie burning & peſtilent ague. The originall cauſe thereof, is imputed to the euening or firſt night aire which they tearme La ſerena, vvherein they ſay and

hold very firme opinion, that who ſo is then abroad in the open aire, ſhall certainly be infected to the death, not being of the Indian or naturall race of thoſe countrey people: our people by holding their watch, were thus ſubiected to the infectious aire, which at S. IAGO was moſt daungerous and deadly of all other places.

VVith this incõuenience of continuall mortality, we were forced to giue ouer our intẽded enterpriſe, to go with NOMBRE DE DIOS, and ſo ouerland to PANNANIA, where we ſhoulde haue ſtroken the ſtroke for the treaſure, and full recompence of our tediouſe trauailes. And thus at CARTAGENA we toke our firſt reſolution to returne homewards.

But while we were yet there, it happened one day, that our watch called the Sentinell, vpon the Church ſteeple, had diſcouered in the ſea a couple of ſmall barkes or boates, making in with the harbour of CARTAGENA, wherepõ Captaine Moone and Captaine Varney, with Iohn Grant the Maiſter of the Tyger, and ſome other ſeamẽ, embarqued them ſelues in a couple of ſmall Pinnaces, to take them before they ſhould come neare the ſhore, at the mouth of the harbour, leſt by ſome ſtragling Spaniards from the land, they might be warned by ſignes from cõming in, which fell out accordingly, notwithſtãding al the diligence that our men could

vſe

vse: for the Spaniſh boates, vpon the ſight of our Pinnaces comming towards them, ran them ſelues a ſhore, and ſo their men preſently hid them ſelues in the buſhes hard by the ſea ſide, amongeſt ſome others that had called them by ſignes thither. Our men preſently without any due regard had to the qualitie of the place, and ſeeing no man of the Spaniards to ſhew them ſelues, aboorded the Spaniſh barkes or boates, and ſo ſtanding all open in them, were ſuddenly ſhot at by a troope of Spaniards out of the buſhes, by which volley of ſhot there were ſlaine Captaine Varney, who died preſently, and Captaine Moone, who died ſome fewe dayes after, beſides ſome foure or fiue others that were hurt: & ſo our ſolkes returned without their purpoſe, not hauing anie ſufficient number of ſouldiers, with them to fight on ſhore. For thoſe men they carried were all matriners to rowe, fewe of them armed, becauſe they made accompt with their ordinance to haue taken the barks well inough at ſea, which they might full eaſily haue done, without any loſſe at all, if they had come in time to the harbour mouth, before the Spaniards boates had gotten ſo neare the ſhore.

During our abode in this place, as alſo a S. Domingo, there paſſed diuerſe curteſies betweene vs and the Spaniards, as feaſting, and vſing them with

all kindneſſe and fauour ſo as amongſt others there came to ſee the Generall, the Gouernour of CARTAGENA, with the Biſhop of the ſame, and diuerſe other Gentlemen of the better ſort.

This towne of CARTAGENA we touched in the out parts, and conſumed much with fire, as we had done S. DOMINGO vpon diſcontentments, and for want of agreeing with vs in their firſt treaties touching their ranſome, which at the laſt was concluded betweene vs, ſhould be a hundred and ten thouſand Duckets for that which was yet ſtanding, the Ducket valued at fiue ſhillings ſixe pence ſterlinge.

This towne (though not halfe ſo bigge as S. DOMINGO) giues as you ſee, a farre greater ranſome, being in very deede of farre more importance, by reaſon of the excellencie of the harbour, and the fit ſituation thereof, to ſerue the trade of NOMBRE DE DIOS and other places, and is inhabited with farre more rich merchants. The other is chiefly inhabited with Lawyers and braue Gentlemen, being the chiefe or higheſt appeale of their ſutes in law of all the Iſlands about it, and of the maine land coaſt next vnto it. And it is of no ſuch accompt as CARTAGENA, for theſe and ſome other like reaſons, which I could giue you, ouer long to be now writte.

The warning which this towne receaued of our comming

comming toward them, from S. DOMINGO, by the ſpace of twentie dayes before our arriuall hither, was cauſe that they had both fortified & euery way prepared for their beſt defence. As alſo that they had caried & conueyed away all their treaſure and principall ſubſtance.

The ranſome of an hundred and ten thouſand Duckets thus concluded on, as is aforeſayd, the ſame being written, & expreſſing for nothing more then the towne of CARTAGENA, vpon the paiment of the ſayd ranſome, we left the ſayd towne, and drewe ſome part of our ſouldiers into the Priorie or Abbey, ſtanding a quarter of an Engliſh mile belowe the towne vpon the harbour water ſide, the ſame being walled with a wall of ſtone, which we told the Spaniards was yet ours, and not redeemed by their compoſition: whereupon they finding the defect of their contract, were content to enter into onother raunſome for all places, but ſpecially for the ſayd houſe, as alſo the blocke houſe or Caſtle, which is vpon the mouth of the inner harbour. And when we asked as much for the one as for the other, they yeelded to giue a thouſand crownes for the Abbey, leauing vs to take our pleaſure vpon the blocke houſe, which they ſayd they were not able to raunſome, hauing ſtretched them ſelues to the vttermoſt of their powers: and therefore the ſayd

blocke house was by vs vndermined, and so with gun pouder blowen vp in peeces.

VVhile this latter contract was in making, our whole Fleete of ships fell downe towards the harbour mouth, where they ankered the third time, & employed their men in fetching of fresh water aboord the ships for our voyage homewardes, which water was had in a great well, that is in the Island by the harbour mouth, which Island is a verie pleasant place as hath bene seene, hauing in it manie sorts of goodly and very pleasant fruits, as the orenge trees and others, being set orderly in walkes of great length together. Insomuch as the whole Island being some two or three miles about, is cast into groundes of gardening and orchards.

After sixe weekes abode in this place, we put to sea the last of March, where after two or three dayes a great ship which we had taken at S. DOMINGO, and thereupon was called the New yeares gift, fell into a great leake, being laden with ordināce, hides, and other spoiles, and in the night she lost the companie of our Fleete, which being missed the next morning by the Generall, he cast about with the whole Fleete, fearing some great mischaunce to be happened vnto her, as in verie deede it so fell out, for her leake was so great, and her men were all tyred with pomping. But at the last hauing found her

and

and the Barke Talbot in her companie, which ſtaying by great hap with her, was readie to take their men out of her, for the ſauing of them. And ſo the Generall being fully aduertiſed of their great extremitie, made ſaile directly backe againe to CARTAGENA with the whole Fleete, where hauing ſtayed eight or tenne dayes more, about the vnlading of this ſhip, and the beſtowing thereof and her men, into other ſhips, we departed once againe to ſea, directing our courſe towards the Cape S. ANTHONIE, being the Eaſtermoſt part of CVBA, whither we arriued the ſeuen & twentieth of Aprill. But becauſe freſh water could not preſently be found, we weyed anker and departed, thinking in fewe dayes to recouer the MATTANCES, a place to the Eaſtward of HAVANA.

After we had ſailed ſome fourteene dayes, we were brought to Cape S. ANTHONIE againe, thorough lacke of fauorable wind: but the our ſcarſitie was growen ſuch, as neede made vs looke a litle better for water, which we found in ſufficient quantitie, being in deede, as I iudge, none other then raine water newly fallen, and gathered vp by making pittes in a plot of marriſh ground, ſome three hundred paſes from the ſea ſide.

I do wrong if I ſhould forget the good example of the Generall at this place, who to encourage

others, and to haſten the getting of freſh water aboord the ſhips, tooke no leſſe paine him ſelfe then the meaneſt, as alſo at S. DOMINGO, CARTAGENA and all other places, hauing alwayes ſo vigilant a care and foreſight in the good ordering of his fleet, accompanying them, as it is ſayd, with ſuch wonderfull trauell of bodie, as doubtleſſe had he bene the meaneſt perſon, as he was the chiefeſt, he had yet deſerued the firſt place of honour: and no leſſe happie do we accompt him, for being aſſociated with Maiſter Carleill his Lieutenant generall, by whoſe experience, prudent counſell, and gallant performance, he atchiued ſo many and happie enterpriſes of the warre, by whom alſo he was verie greatly aſſiſted, in ſetting downe the needefull orders, lawes, and courſe of iuſtice, and for the due adminiſtration of the ſame vpon all occaſions.

After three dayes ſpent in watering our ſhips, we departed now the ſecond time from this Cape of S. ANTHONIE the thirteenth of May, and proceeding about the Cape of FLORIDA, we neuer touched anie where, but coaſting alongſt FLORIDA, and keeping the ſhore ſtill in ſight, the eight and twentieth of May early in the morning, we deſcried on the ſhore a place built like a Beacon, which was in deede a ſcaffold vpon foure long maſtes, raiſed on ende for men to diſcouer to the ſeaward, being in the

the latitude of thirtie degrees, or verie neare thereunto. Our Pinnaces manned, and comming to the ſhore, we marched vp alongſt the riuer ſide, to ſee what place the enemy held there: for none amongſt vs had any knowledge thereof at all.

Here the General tooke occaſion to march with the companies him ſelfe in perſon, the Lieutenant generall hauing the Vantgard, and going a mile vp or ſomewhat more by the riuer ſide, we might diſcerne on the other ſide of the riuer ouer againſt vs, a fort, which newly had bene built by the Spaniards, and ſome mile or there about aboue the fort, was a litle towne or village without walles, built of woodden houſes: we forthwith prepared to haue ordinance for the batterie, and one peece was a litle before the euening planted, and the firſt ſhot being made by the Lieutenant generall him ſelfe at their Enſigne, ſtrake through the Enſigne, as we afterwards vnderſtood by a French man, which came vnto vs from them. One ſhot more was then made, which ſtrake the foote of the fort wall, which was all maſſiue timber of great trees like maſtes. The Lieutenant generall was determined to paſſe the riuer this night with foure companies, and there to lodge him ſelfe intrenched as neare the fort, as that he might play with his muskets and ſmalleſt ſhot vpon anie that ſhould appeare: and ſo afterwards to bring

and plant the batterie with him, but the helpe of marriners for that ſudden to make trenches could not be had, which was the cauſe that this determination was remitted vntill the next night.

In the night the Lieutenant general tooke a litle rowing Skiffe, and halfe a doſen well armed, as Captaine Morgan, and Captaine Sampſon, with ſome others beſides the rowers, and went to viewe what gard the enemie kept, as alſo to take knowledge of the ground. And albeit he went as couertly as might be, yet the enemy taking the Alarum, grew fearefull that the whole Force was approching to the aſſault, and therefore with all ſpeede abandoned the place after the ſhooting of ſome of their pecces. They thus gone, and he being returned vnto vs againe, but nothing knowing of their flight from their fort, forthwith came a French man being a Phipher (who had bene priſoner with them) ina litle boate, playing on his phiph the tune of the Prince of Orenge his ſong, and being called vnto by the gard, he tolde them before he put foote out of the boate, what he was him ſelfe, and howe the Spaniards were gone from the fort, offering either to remaine in hands there, or elſe to returne to the place with them that would go.

Vpon this intelligence the Generall, the Lieutenant generall, with ſome of the Captaines in one Skiffe

Skiffe, and the Vizeadmirall with ſome others in his Skiffe, and two or three Pinnaces furniſhed of ſouldiers with them, put preſently ouer towards the fort, giuing order for the reſt of the Pinnaces to follow. And in our approch, ſome of the enemie bolder then the reſt, hauing ſtayed behind their companie, ſhot off two peeces of ordinance at vs: but on ſhore we went, and entred the place without finding any man there.

VVhen the day appeared, we found it built all of timber, the walles being none other then whole maſts or bodies of trees ſet vpright and cloſe together in maner of a pale, without anie ditch as yet made, but who intended with ſome more time, for they had not as yet finiſhed all their worke, hauing begun the ſame ſome three or fower moneths before: ſo as to ſay the truth, they had no reaſon to keepe it, being ſubiect both to fier and eaſie aſſault.

The platforme whereon the ordinance lay, was whole bodies of long pine trees, whereof there is great plentie, layed a croſſe one on another, and ſome litle earth amongſt. There was in it thirteene or fourreene great peeces of braſſe ordinance, and a cheſt vnbroken vp, hauing in it the value of ſome two thouſand pounds ſterling, by eſtimation of the Kings treaſure, to pay the ſouldiers of that place, who were a hundred and fiftie men.

The fort thus wonne, which they called S. Iohns fort, and the day opened, we aſſayed to go to the towne, but could not by reaſon of ſome riuers and broken ground which was betweene the two places: and therefore enforced to imbarke againe into our Pinnaces, we went thither vpō the great maine riuer, which is called as alſo the towne by the name of S. AVGVSTINE.

At our approching to land, there was ſome that began to ſhewe them ſelues, and to beſtowe ſome fewe ſhot vpon vs, but preſently withdrewe themſelues. And in their running thus away, the Sergeant maior finding one of their horſes readie ſadled and bridled, tooke the ſame to follow the chaſe, and ſo ouergoing all his companie, was (by one layed behind a buſh) ſhot through the head, & falling downe therewith, was by the ſame and two or three more, ſtabbed in three or foure places of his bodie with ſwords and daggers, before anie could come neere to his reskue. His death was much lamented, being in verie deede an honeſt wiſe Gentleman, and a ſouldier of good experience, and of as great courage as anie man might be.

In this place called S. AVGVSTINE, we vnderſtood the King did keepe as is before ſaid, one hundred and fiftie ſouldiers, and at an other place ſome dozen leagues beyond to the Northwardes, called S. He-

Map between pages 46-47

Civitas S. AVGVSTINI ligneis aedibus constructa amaenissimos habuit hortos, vndique sol
adiutque eodem numero ad 12 versus Septentrionem leucas in loco S. Helenae dicto Haec praesid

La cite Sainct Augustin tout Bastie de Maisons de bois des Jardins tres plaisans et chaume terre fort fertile
a 12 lieues vers les septentrion au lieu appelle Sainct heleine et ses garnisons estoient pour empescher les

, solo facundissimo, ab Anglis iniecto igne destructa est Præsidium hic erat iso Hispanorum,
ræsidia autem eo consilio disposita. Vt prohiberent Anglos et Gallos, ne interiectum occuparēt regionē.

le elle a esté bruslée par les Angloy il y auoit en icelle Vne garnison de 150 Espagnols et vne autre de pareil nombre.
les Anglois et les Francois d'enuahir le paie. gisant au millieu.

S. HELENA, he did there likewiſe kepe an hundred and fiftie more, ſeruing there for no other purpoſe, then to keepe all other nations from inhabiting any part of all that coaſt, the gouernement wherof was committed to one Pedro Melendez Marqueſſe, nephew to that Melendez the Admiral, who had ouerthrown Maiſter Iohn Hawkins in the Bay of MEXICO ſome fifteene or ſixteene yeares agoe. This Gouernour had charge of both the places, but was at this time in this place, and one of the firſt that left the ſame.

Here it was reſolued in full aſſemblie of Captaines, to vndertake the enterpriſe of S. HELENA, and from thence to ſeeke out the inhabitation of our Engliſh countrey men in VIRGINIA, diſtant from thence ſome ſixe degrees Northward.

VVhen we came thwart of S. HELENA, the ſhols appearing daungerous, and we hauing no Pilot to vndertake the entrie, it was thought meeteſt to go hence alongſt. For the Admirall had bene the ſame night in foure fadome and halfe three leagues from the ſhore: and yet we vnderſtood, that by the helpe of a knowen Pilot, there may and doth go in ſhips of greater burthen and draught then anie we had in our Fleete.

VVe paſſed thus alongeſt the coaſt hard abord the ſhore, which is ſhallow for a league or two from

the ſhore, and the ſame is lowe and broken land for the moſt part.

The ninth of Iune vpon ſight of one ſpeciall great fire (which are verie ordinarie all alongſt this coaſt, euen from the Cape FLORIDA hither) the Generall ſent his Skiffe to the ſhore, where they found ſome of our Engliſh countrey men (that had bene ſent thither the yeare before by Sir VValter Raleigh) & brought one aboord, by whoſe direction we proceeded along to the place, which they make their Port. But ſome of our ſhips being of great draught vnable to enter, we ankered all without the harbour in a wild road at ſea, about two miles from ſhore.

From whence the General wrote letters to Maiſter Rafe Lane, being Gouernour of thoſe Engliſh in VIRGINIA, and then at his fort about ſix leagues from the rode in an Iſland, which they call ROANOAC, wherein ſpecially he ſhewed how readie he was to ſupply his neceſſities and wants, which he vnderſtood of, by thoſe he had firſt talked withall.

The morrowe after Maiſter Lane him ſelfe and ſome of his companie comming vnto him, with the conſent of his Captaines, he gaue them the choiſe of two offers, that is to ſay: Either he would leaue a ſhip, a Pinnace, and certaine boates with ſufficient Maiſters and mariners, together furniſhed with a moneths

moneths victuall to ſtay and make farther diſcouerie of the country and coaſtes, and ſo much victuall likewiſe that might be ſufficient for the bringing of them all (being an hundred and three perſons) into England if they thought good after ſuch time, with anie other thing they would deſire, & that he might be able to ſpare.

Or elſe if they thought they had made ſufficient diſcouerie alreadie, and did deſire to returne into England, he would giue them paſſage. But they as it ſeemed, being deſirous to ſtay, accepted verie thankefully, and with great gladneſſe that which was offred firſt. VVherupon the ſhip being appointed & receaued into charge, by ſome of their owne companie ſent into her by Maiſter Lane, before they had receaued from the reſt of the Fleete, the prouiſion appointed thē, there aroſe a great ſtorme (which they ſayde was extraordinarie and verie ſtraunge) that laſted three dayes together, and put all our Fleete in great daunger, to be driuen from their ankering vpon the coaſt. For we brake manie Cables, and loſt manie ankers. And ſome of our Fleete which had loſt all (of which number was the ſhip appointed for Maiſter Lane and his companie) were driuen to put to ſea in great danger, in auoiding the coaſt, and could neuer ſee vs againe vntill we met in England. Manie alſo of our ſmall

Pinnaces and boates were loſt in this ſtorme.

Notwithſtanding after all this, the Generall offered them (with conſent of his Captaines) another ſhip with ſome prouiſion, although not ſuch a one for their turnes, as might haue bene ſpared them before, this being vnable to be brought into their harbour. Or elſe if they would, to giue them paſſage into England, although he knewe he ſhould performe it with greater difficultie then he might haue done before.

But Maiſter Lane with thoſe of the chiefeſt of his companie he had then with him, conſidering what ſhould be beſt for them to doe, made requeſt vnto the Generall vnder their handes, that they might haue paſſage for England: the which being graunted, and the reſt ſent for out of the countrey and ſhipped, we departed from that coaſt the eighteenth of Iune.

And ſo God be thanked, both they and we in good ſafetie arriued at Porteſmouth the eight and twentieth of Iuly 1586. to the great glorie of God, and to no ſmall honour to our Prince, our countrey and our ſelues.

The totall value of that which was gotten in this voyage, is eſtimated at three ſcore thouſand poũds, whereof the companies which haue trauelled in the voyage were to haue twentie thouſand pounds, the aduen-

aduenturers the other fortie. Of which twenty thouſand poundes (as I can iudge) will redound ſome ſixe pounds to the ſingle ſhare.

VVe loſt ſome ſeuen hundred and fiftie men in the voyage. The men of name that died and were ſlaine in this voyage, as I can preſently call to my remembrance, are theſe.

Captaine Powell. Captaine Bigges.
Captaine Varney. Captaine Cecill.
Captaine Moone. Captaine Hannam.
Captaine Forteſcute. Captaine Greenefield.
Thomas Tucker a Lieutenaunt.
Alexander Starkey a Lieutenaunt.
Maiſter Eſcot a Lieutenaunt.
Maiſter VVaterhouſe a Lieutenaunt.
Maiſter Nicholas VVinter.
Maiſter Alexander Carleill.
Maiſter Robert Alexander.
Maiſter Scroope.
Maiſter Iames Dier.
Maiſter Peter Duke.

VVith ſome other, who for haſt I can not ſo ſuddenly thinke on.

The ordinance gotten of all ſorts braſſe and iron were about two hundred and fortie, whereof the two hundred and ſome more were braſſe, and were thus found and gotten.

In S. IAGO ſome two or three & fiftie peeces.

In S. DOMINGO about foure ſcore, wherof was verie much great ordinance, as whole Cannon, Dimi-Cannon, Culuerins and ſuch like.

In CARTAGENA ſome ſixtie and three peeces, and good ſtore likewiſe of the greater ſort.

In the fort of S. AVGVSTINE were foureteene peeces.

The reſt was Iron ordinance, of which the moſt part was gotten at S. DOMINGO, the reſt at CARTAGENA.

The errata on the last leaf of this
other copy have not been corrected
in the text of this one.